

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

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OES-07 SS-15 /143 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8611
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 05940

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW FOR AMBASSADOR WARNKE
USUN NEW YORK FOR AMBASSADOR FISHER

E.O.11652:GDS
TAGS: PARM US UR
SUBJECT: US-USSR NEGOTIATIONS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS: ROUND
SEVEN, 15TH PLENARY MEETING, APRIL 18, 1978

REF: GENEVA 5590

CW MESSAGE NO.44

1. SUMMARY: THE FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE US-USSR
CHEMICAL WEAPONS NEGOTIATIONS WAS HELD TUESDAY, APRIL 18.
AMB LIKHACHEV (HEAD OF SOVIET DEL) MADE A STATEMENT ON
ISSUES RELATED TO VERIFICATION, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS
ON THE VARIOUS DECLARATIONS WHICH WOULD BE REQUIRED
UNDER THE CONVENTION AND WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS AN
IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF VERIFICATION. THE SPECIFIC CHANGES
IN THE SOVIET POSITION WERE ACCEPTANCE OF THE US-PROPOSED
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TIME-LIMIT FOR DECLARATIONS OF STOCKS; AGREEMENT IN
PRINCIPLE TO ESTABLISH, FOR REPORTING PURPOSES, A LIST
OF IMPORTANT LETHAL COMMERCIAL CHEMICALS; WILLINGNESS
TO PROVIDE IN THE CONVENTION THAT REASONS FOR ANY
REFUSAL OF CHALLENGE ON-SITE INSPECTION MUST BE SUFFI-
CIENTLY CONVINCING; AND AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A
PREPARATORY COMMISSION UPON SIGNATURE OF THE CONVEN-

TION. LIKHATCHEV ALSO INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXAMINE THE ISSUE OF A CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE OF GENERAL INFORMATION ON STOCKS AT A LATER STAGE, "IN CONNECTION WITH THE MATTER OF RATIFICATION." IN ADDITION, HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE STUDYING CAREFULLY THE US PROPOSAL FOR DESTROYING STOCKS AT SPECIALLY DESIGNATED FACILITIES. AS TO DECLARATION OF FACILITIES, LIKHATCHEV REAFFIRMED SOVIET REJECTION OF THE US APPROACH, CLAIMING AGAIN THAT DECLARATION OF "FACILITIES" AND OF PLANS FOR THEIR ELIMINATION WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IN AN EXCHANGE FOLLOWING LIKHATCHEV'S STATEMENT, AKALOVSKY (ACTING HEAD OF US DEL) REGRETTED THE ABSENCE OF ANY SOVIET MOVEMENT ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF REQUIRED ON-SITE VERIFICATION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF STOCKS AND OF THE DISPOSITION OF FACILITIES. LIKHATCHEV REITERATED SOVIET CATEGORICAL REJECTION OF SUCH VERIFICATION, ASSERTING THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE THEIR SHARE OF CONCESSIONS AND THAT THE US SHOULD NOW RECIPROCATE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS STATEMENT, SOVIET AMB LIKHATCHEV MADE THE FOLLOWING SALIENT POINTS:

A. VERIFICATION SYSTEM. LIKHATCHEV SAID THE VERIFICATION SYSTEM WOULD BE COMPRISED OF THREE ELEMENTS: INTERNAL OR NATIONAL MEANS, NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, AND INTERCONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. HE SAID COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL CONTROL (AS PROVIDED FOR IN AN ANNEX TO THEIR DRAFT CONVENTION) AND NATIONAL CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE VARIOUS STATES PARTIES AND THEIR COOPERATION WITH THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDES AN IMPORTANT ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN THE THREE ELEMENTS OF THE VERIFICATION SYSTEM, THUS ENHANCING THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF VERIFICATION.

B. DECLARATIONS. LIKHATCHEV STATED THAT DECLARATIONS SHOULD BE REGARDED AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF VERIFICATION.

-- DECLARATIONS OF STOCKS. THE SOVIETS AGREED TO THE US PROPOSAL TO HAVE DECLARATIONS OF VOLUMES OF STOCKS THIRTY DAYS AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CONVENTION BUT SAID THE DETAILED CONTENT OF SUCH DECLARATIONS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED LATER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

-- DECLARATIONS OF "CAPABILITIES". LIKHATCHEV REITERATED SOVIET READINESS TO DECLARE "CAPABILITIES" AND PLANS FOR THEIR ELIMINATION/DISMANTLING. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET

PROPOSED DECLARATIONS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE LISTS AND OTHER DECLARATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE CONVENTION, WERE FULLY ADEQUATE TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE AND, AT THE SAME TIME, SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF POSSIBLE DISCLOSURE OF SENSITIVE, UNRELATED INFORMATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, LIKHATCHEV STATED THAT THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE US PROPOSAL TO DECLARE LOCATIONS AND OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION ON CW PRODUCTION FACILITIES REMAINED UNCHANGED. CLAIMING THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS TO THE US ON VERIFICATION AND OTHER MAJOR ISSUES, HE ASSERTED THAT ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE THE US SHOULD BE THE ONE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AND REVIEW ITS POSITION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 05940

MOSCOW FOR AMB. WARNKE

USUN FOR AMB. FISHER

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-- LIKHATCHEV ALSO STATED THAT THE US DEL COULD EXPECT PRODUCTIVE WORK IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE CONTENT OF PLANS FOR DESTRUCTION OF STOCKS AND ELIMINATION OF PRODUCTION "CAPABILITIES"; SUCH DISCUSSION, HOWEVER, WAS PREMATURE AT THIS TIME AND COULD TAKE PLACE "AFTER AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN REACHED."

-- BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON STOCKS. IN A RATHER DELPHIC STATEMENT, LIKHATCHEV SUGGESTED THAT THE TWO SIDES COULD EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF A CONFIDENTIAL, BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF GENERAL INFORMATION ON STOCKS "SUBSEQUENTLY, IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTION OF RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTION."

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C. LISTS OF "IMPORTANT" LETHAL AND OTHER HIGHLY TOXIC CHEMICALS AND "IMPORTANT" PRECURSORS. SOVIETS AGREED TO THE US PROPOSAL TO DRAW UP LISTS OF "IMPORTANT" LETHAL AND OTHER HIGHLY TOXIC CHEMICALS AND REAFFIRMED AGREEMENT WITH US PROPOSAL TO DRAW UP LIST OF "IMPORTANT" PRECURSORS USED FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES BUT WHICH COULD BE DIVERTED TO MILITARY USE. LIKHATCHEV SAID THE ACTUAL CONTENT OF THE LISTS WOULD BE WORKED OUT BILATERALLY LATER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. CERTAIN INFORMATION ON PRECURSORS COULD THEN, ON THE BASIS OF THE LIST OF "IMPORTANT" PRECURSORS, BE EXCHANGED BILATERALLY OR THROUGH THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

D. NON-TRANSFER. LIKHATCHEV ASKED IF US POSITION ON NON-TRANSFER COINCIDED WITH THE SOVIET POSITION AS SET FORTH IN SOVIET DRAFT ARTICLE III.

E. CW STOCKPILE DESTRUCTION FACILITY. LIKHATCHEV SAID SOVIETS WERE STUDYING THE US PROPOSAL THAT SPECIALIZED FACILITIES BE SET UP FOR DESTRUCTION OF CW STOCKS.

F. CEILING ON SUPER-TOXIC CHEMICALS. LIKHATCHEV SAID SOVIETS WERE STUDYING THE DETAILED US APPROACH TO THE MAXIMUM PERMITTED QUANTITY OF SUPER-TOXIC CHEMICALS TO BE RETAINED FOR NON-HOSTILE MILITARY PURPOSES (SEE GENEVA 5590, PARA 2A). REGARDING ALL OTHER LETHAL CHEMICALS, IN THE LOWER TOXICITY RANGE, HE SAID VERIFICATION WOULD BE ASSURED THROUGH THE VARIOUS DECLARATIONS REQUIRED UNDER THE CONVENTION, LISTS, AND STATISTICAL CONTROLS; HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD NOT GO INTO THE DETAILS OF HSE MANY-FACETTED MEASURES AT THIS TIME.

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G. CHALLENGE ON-SITE INSPECTIONS. WITH REFERENCE TO THE US PROPOSAL THAT THE CONVENTION PROVIDE FOR SUB-

MISSION OF ADEQUATE JUSTIFICATION OF ANY REFUSAL OF A CHALLENGE ON-SITE INSPECTION, LIKHACHEV STATED THAT THE SOVIET DEL HAD ALWAYS HELD THAT A REFUSAL FOR AN ON-SITE INSPECTION WOULD NOT AFFECT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CONVENTION IF SUCH A REFUSAL WERE ACCOMPANIED BY A CONVINCING EXPLANATION AS TO WHY THE REQUEST WAS DEEMED UNFOUNDED. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS COULD NOW AGREE THAT EXPLANATION OF A REFUSAL SHOULD BE "SUFFICIENTLY CONVINCING" AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE APPROPRIATELY REFLECTED IN THE CONVENTION.

H. PREPARATORY COMMISSION. SOVIET DEL AGREED TO THE CREATION OF A PREPARATORY COMMISSION AND PROPOSED THAT SUCH A COMMISSION BE FORMED UPON SIGNATURE OF THE CONVENTION SO THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE COULD BEGIN FUNCTIONING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CONVENTION.

3. AKALOVSKY (ACTING HEAD OF US DEL) SAID THE US DEL WOULD STUDY THE SOVIET STATEMENT CAREFULLY, BUT NOTED WITH REGRET THE ABSENCE OF ANY SOVIET MOVEMENT ON THE ISSUE OF REQUIRED ON-SITE VERIFICATION, TO WHICH THE US ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE. LIKHACHEV REJOINED THAT THE SOVIET DEL HAD ALREADY MADE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, MANY OF WHICH RELATED TO VERIFICATION. HE CLAIMED THE US WAS SPECIALLY EMPHASIZING ONLY ONE PART OF THE COMPLEX OF VERIFICATION MEASURES, MEASURES WHICH COULD LEAD TO DISCLOSURE OF COMMERCIAL SECRETS AND SENSITIVE NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION. HE CATEGORICALLY STATED THAT THE USSR WOULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH MEASURES, MAINTAINING THAT THE TOTALITY OF THE VERIFICATION SYSTEM PROPOSED BY THE USSR WAS COMPLETELY SUFFICIENT. HE ASKED THAT THE US TAKE A BROADER APPROACH TO VERIFICATION AND ASSERTED THE SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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SIDE HAD "TRAVELLED ITS PART OF THE WAY" TO MEET THE US. "ON THIS QUESTION, THEREFORE," HE SAID, "WE WOULD LIKE RECIPROCITY." AKALOVSKY SAID HE BELIEVED BOTH SIDES HAD MADE CONCESSIONS IN THE TALKS THUS FAR. WHILE IT WAS TRUE

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MOSCOW FOR AMB. WARNKE

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THAT THE VERIFICATION SYSTEM MUST BE ASSESSED IN ITS
TOTALITY, THE FACT WAS THAT, IN THE US VIEW, THE SOVIET
POSITION ON VERIFICATION LEFT A SIGNIFICANT GAP IN THAT
SYSTEM. NOTING THAT THE US ALSO DID NOT WISH ON-SITE
INSPECTIONS TO LEAD TO DISCLOSURE OF UNRELATED INFOR-
MATION, AKALOVSKY POINTED OUT THAT US PROPOSALS, INCLUD-
ING THAT FOR SPECIALIZED DESTRUCTION FACILITIES, WERE
DESIGNED TO AVOID SUCH DISCLOSURE. HE CONCLUDED BY
RECALLING US WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY CONSTRUCTIVE
SOVIET SUGGESTIONS ON THIS ISSUE, AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE
THAT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OF IT WOULD BE FOUND
IN FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

4. AT AMB LIKHATCHEV'S SUGGESTION, WHO SAID THAT HIS DEL
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HAD NO ADDITIONAL MATERIAL TO PRESENT, THE DATE OF THE
NEXT PLENARY MEETING WAS LEFT OPEN, BUT A DRAFTING GROUP
MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 20.

5. IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH AKALOVSKY,
LIKHATCHEV EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE CURRENT CW ROUND
COULD BE TERMINATED DURING WEEK OF APRIL 24-28,
IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CW INFORMALS IN CCD. HE THOUGHT
THAT, IN ANY EVENT, THE ROUND SHOULD NOT CONTINUE BEYOND

MAY 3-4. AKALOVSKY SUGGESTED THAT THIS MATTER BE FURTHER
DISCUSSED AFTER AMB FISHER'S RETURN TO GENEVA APRIL 23.
VANDEN HEUVEL

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